1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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Sometimes a daughter has just been born to the chief's wife.
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either of the *foye* or *fol-o*.[9] The idea seems to be that the beverage is so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *rafu* plant.[10] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[11]

[9] *Fol-o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 52) as *Baldus fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[10] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *rafu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[11] Latcham (*op. cit.*, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 735) mentioned abstinence

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupalur*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 1) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[1] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *wainur*, kept within the rude.[2] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

[1] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 380.

[2] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unobtrusively in full view of a large number of spectators.

1: Tittev E-3 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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863 [278 365] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a ruka are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

•857 565 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[8]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[9]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l-awun*, and two of the most popular items are *pinkul-awun*[10] ("heart-medicine"), and *lip-l-awun* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [8] Several informants confirmed the use of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kil'a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chenopus* spec.

[9] Hanson, 1939, p. 355. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 71a–73.

[10] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

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PLATE II

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FIG. 1. The framework of a *rake* under construction.

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(Ruth Hirsch photograph)

FIG. 2. A baby tied in its cradleboard.

[end plate 2]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

Weaving.—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *ayoho* (*bromelia lindleyi*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chuis chuyem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *wâem pengi.*
" " female, *wâem lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi wâem pengi*, or *epuchi wâem lamuen.*
Father's sister, *pale.*
Mother's brother, *kaun.*
Mother's sister, *wichunku.*

Marriage relations.

Wife's father, *peuipins.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *wilyim.*
" sister, *epuche.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—

Husband's father, *Kenpu.*
" mother, *Llulla.*
" brother, *epilpengi.*
" sister, *lamen.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelmahan.*
Stepmother, *epenge.*
Stepson, *malyi nutem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi ninahan.*
Wife, *nuve.*
Husband, *enin (gruudi).*
Consort (of either sex), *pinyem.*
Mistress, *unguen.*
Children in general, *aungi.*
Natural children, *wachen.*

854 [1667] 847 815 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from a very early age take an active part in the license and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate I]

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TYPES OF THE STEATOPYGIC ADAPTATION.

[end plate 2]

5 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of the blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. Fourth of Tobún, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On lingo names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1922, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description).

FIGURE 78.—Mapuche cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1922, p. 300), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guevara (1908, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1903, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1918, 1:91) lists the verb kuñun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1909, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 20 warriors, in one case 60, under them.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger.

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder.

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Araucanian cradle (Alegre): 1, Front view. (Native detached wall of ruka.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[A 12 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[p.12(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[415]

Small children (Alapiñe): 1, Mother manipulating child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shes lacking; this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p. 12(b)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[858] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

●859 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's *poncho*!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night. §63

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupiñaw. When speaking Spanish, they call it cabalito (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is never lent or borrowed. In Alepún area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Pangipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it. §59 ● [414]

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, 1.) Both were of wood. One has a hood over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The hood (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of cabalito because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

18: Niger E-1 (1946-1952) 1937
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The laniform cradle was not used in Aleyán area; in Iberia area it was used almost exclusively. Two Aleyán women examined with interest a laniform one pictured by Cooper (1946, p. 735, fig. 78) and discussed and evaluated it. "This netting [pointing to the lacework] is not what we make; we use a piece of wood for a lacework—two or three, if they are small ones. This is how a Maquebe cradle should look: [One woman drew two parallel lines and connected the upper ends with a line bent above each of the parallel lines.] We are wondering who made this cradle [illustrated in Cooper]; do you know?" Pingapipalli informants said the laniform type was easily made. "You take two boards as wide [approximately 2 inches] for side pieces, or if you cannot find boards, chop two small straight limbs off a tree and peel them of bark. Use these for side pieces. Then find some small boards for the lacework, burn holes into the ends of them and also into the poles, and tie them all together with thongs."

Several cradles in use during the present study had parts fastened together with nails; all others, and also most museum specimens, were tied together with lashing thongs or cords. Holes for tying had been burnt into the wood with hot irons.

There are no standard measurements for a cradle other than that it should be big enough for a baby. An informant said that the length of the lacework should be the distance indicated between his hands (about 28 inches) and the width approximately half that distance. The entire length, he thought, should approximate 32 inches "for the cradle must have two feet six whichyin rest. There must be some distance below the baby's feet. When the baby has outgrown the cradle, the cradle is no longer used. It is generally not used after the baby walks, but I tied my babies to theirs even then, for I knew then where they were—they could not get out my sight."

A cradle is not made ceremonially; no part of it is ornamented; no toys are attached to it. It is padded with either a piece of sheep pelt with wool side toward the baby or a piece of worn-down chamail; both are soft. Lashings are passed through knitted loops attached to the framework of the cradle or through perforations along the edges of the pelt or chamail, in which case the pelt or chamail is securely fastened to the framework. Lashings are woven bands, and only one band is used in lacing a baby to its cradle. In general, one end of the lashing is fastened to the first loop at the head end of the cradle, and is then passed through a loop at a time, alternating from side to side, until the foot end is reached. Here it is fastened into the last loop, and any unused lashing is tucked under the lacing somewhere. A baby is swaddled before being tied to its cradleboard. If it is to sleep, its arms

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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are laid to its sides before it is swaddled. In its waking hours, its arms and hands are free.

The cradleboard serves several purposes, one of which is to insure correct posture as the child grows. Quoting an Alepúe woman: "When a child is in its cradle its legs and arms are straight down. It is because of this that the Mapuche have those straight legs and erect backs; seldom is there one that has bowed or bent legs. Too many Mapuche today want to do away with cradleboards and follow those stupid Chilean customs." A Cañaripe father thought a child was too confined when tied to its cradle: "My three oldest children were each tied to a cradleboard. But when my three youngest children were babies, there were enough older ones to tend to them and carry them around. Anyway, I do not think a child develops well when it does not have its freedom of movement."

A baby in its cradle relieves the mother of its care while she is busy. "A mother who weaves has the baby in its cradle right close to her; the baby watches her weave then." "Whenever a baby cries, it is tied to its cradle and set against the wall. From here it can see other persons, and see what they are doing. Babies seem to like it, for they are quiet then." A baby that gets restless or seems tired will have its arms brought out from under its swaddling bands.

Furthermore, even a young child can be assigned to tending a baby, if the baby is on its cradleboard. The child will play with the baby, talk to it, or rock it, by moving the weight of the cradle alternately from one foot to the other. An 8-year-old boy tended a neighbor's baby in its cradleboard by rocking it and saying "choo" as each foot of the cradle hit the ground. "I do not want the baby to begin crying," he said. A grandmother was seen doing so for mere enjoyment. Occasionally she stopped rocking, and talked to the baby.

A cradleboard provides a place for the baby's daytime naps. If the baby falls asleep in its cradle, the cradle is laid on the floor and the canopy erected over the baby's face. At night the baby sleeps out of its cradle with its mother. "That is the place for a baby at night; certainly not in the cradle!"

Also, the cradleboard provides a means of transporting the baby on its mother's back when she walks a short distance, "like to the neighbors." Most women carry a cradled baby by slipping each arm through a loop, the ends of which are fastened to the cradle; several women carried one suspended from the forehead by means of a band. If long distances have to be traveled, the mother rides horseback and places the cradle in horizontal position on the saddle in front of herself.

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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●854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Cañaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "ssi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tss." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 A 60-year-old Cañaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lull-
854 aby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rəna) from calle calle or from rüna (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, rəna were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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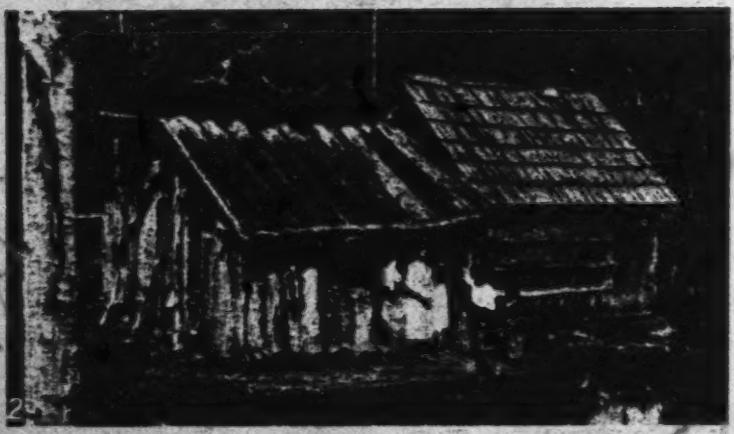

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Pilpil: 1 and 2, A 2-room dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children.

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852 304 implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and mudai (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awár kuden or awár meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as poruntun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

854 824 To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwirled yarn; twirled yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused.

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then."

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent colihüe peeled of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of colihüe bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end.

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split colihüe stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two unsplit colihüe stalks (pl. 74, 1, 2). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupan noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the

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854 miniature sample shown in plate 74; he had looked for a dead horse while making the cradle, hoping to use its tendon for tying, but found none. Pictures of cradleboards used by Chilean Araucanians (cf. pls. 2, 3) interested informants; however, not even the oldest informants had seen any like them.

Cradles were sometimes painted red, green, or white with the same soil used in painting pottery or the inside of toldos. "Green was the prettiest color, but it was difficult to get; we had to get it from a faraway place."

The child was swaddled, as previously described, when about to be tied to its cradleboard. It was then laid on the backrest of the cradle and held in position by lashings of hide or homewoven bands. If the baby was to be transported, lashings were passed crisscross over its body and through loops in foal hide that had been securely fastened on the sides of the cradle. The loops were about a hand stretch apart. If the baby was merely to be set up in its cradle to be with its family, lashings were fastened rather loosely, often only at corners diagonally across from each other.

A child was transported on horseback in its cradle by its mother. If the mother had no other things to transport, she usually laid the cradle in front of her, especially if the child was still very small; if she had other things to transport, she placed these in front of her and fastened the cradle securely to her back from right shoulder toward left hip, letting the lower end of the side rest on the horse's back. In this position the foot ends of the cradle did not poke the horse, nor was the child jolted by having the foot ends touch the horse's back or the saddle, as the horse galloped along. Fastening was done by means of a homewoven band. Women preferred the cradle with the solid colihüe backrest for transporting the baby, since the baby could be fastened more tightly to it than to the backrest of netting.

A mother wishing to tie the cradle to her back, stooped, let someone place the cradle on her back, and then fastened it to herself with the band that had been previously tied to the back of the cradle and to its foot ends. The section of the band attached to the right side of the cradle she brought across her left shoulder, across her chest, and under her right arm, holding it there, while she brought the other section of the band over the right shoulder, across the chest, and under the left arm. Then she crossed the two at the back, at the waistline, and brought them to the front where she tied them in a secure knot at her waistline. "A woman with her baby thus fastened to her back could gallop so fast that she hardly knew where her head stood, but the baby was always in its place."

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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. 854
One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child.

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An [857] older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle.

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies 854
to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just 533
because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another

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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by 533 hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was
[856] time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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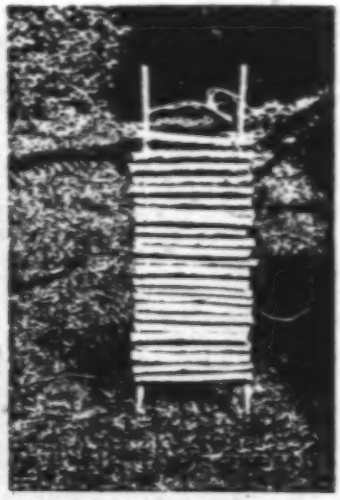

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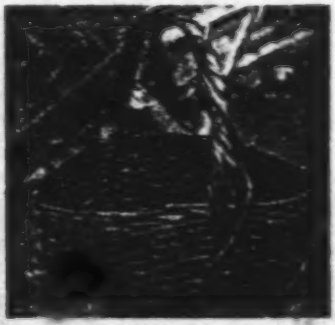

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1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kolupan. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (külko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Koessler, San Martín de los Andes.)

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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

851 After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and 521 often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 851 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 855 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 593 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as providing wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care — again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar-